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the Peninsula, and the two Sicilies, were the points of difference which appeared least to admit of being adjusted, he was authorized to propose an arrangement of them on the following basis:—The integrity of Spain to be guaranteed; France to renounce all idea of extending her dominion beyond the Pyrennees. The present dynasty to be declared independent, and Spain to be governed by a National Constitution of her Cortes. The independence and integrity of Portugal to be also guaranteed, and the House of Braganza to have the sovereign authority. The kingdom of Naples to remain in possession of the present monarch, and the kingdom of Sicily to the guaranteed to the present family of Sicily; and, as a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, to be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces." With respect to the other objects, he proposed, that "each power should retain that of which the other could not deprive it by war;" and stated, that "the Emperor, in taking this step, did not look either to the advantages or losses which France might derive from the war, if it should be prolonged; but was influenced simply by considerations for the interests of humanity, and the peace of his people; and if this fourth attempt should not be attended with success, like those which had preceded it, France should at least have the consolation of thinking, that whatever blood might yet flow, would be

justly imputable to England alone." To these overtures, Lord Castlereagh replied, that "If, as his Royal Highness feared, the meaning of the proposition was, that the royal authority of Spain, and the government established by the Cortes, shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the Cortes formed under his authority, and not in the legitimate sovereign Ferdinand VII., and his heirs, and the Extraordinary Assembly of the Cortes, now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom in his name; he was commanded frankly and explicitly to declare, that the obligations of good faith do not permit his Royal Highness to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis. But, if the expressions apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII., upon an assurance to that effect, the Prince Regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted, in order to be taken into consideration by his Royal Highness; it being his most earnest wish to contribute in concert with his allies, to the repose of Europe, and to bring about a peace which may be at once honourable, not only for Great Britain and France, but also for those States which are in relations of amity with each of these powers."

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

IT is our duty to make one little month the limit of our retrospect, yet we cannot, at times, help feeling the desire to open a vista to times more remote. We have always considered the long avenue, and corresponding ranges of Patriarchal trees, rooted in remote antiquity, and spreading their breadth of religious shade as the *sublime* of rural improvement. And somewhat in like manner we should chuse to take a stated walk down the pages of history, stopping, from time to time, to contemplate, in the twilight of

memory, those august personages, and elevated characters, who call for almost religious worship, or at least have commanded our earliest veneration. Iudeed, the only appropriate epitaph of a great man, is the record which history retains of his actions. Mr. Canning, politician and poetaster, may, at the request of the city magistracy, compose his inscription to the memory of William Pitt, but if, by some unaccountable accident, it should be preserved as the one lately discovered on the Rosetta marble, it will not fail to be

decyphered by late posterity with the same smile of scorn, as has been excited by the prostitute adulation of the priests of Egypt, upon Ptolemy Epiphanes. Had flattery and folly been gratified, the whole of this earth would have been covered with tomb-stones, and the living would have been exterminated by the dead.

But *memory* was granted to man, for this purpose among others, of bestowing terrestrial immortality; and indeed, it is the hope of occupying a niche in this great sanctuary of the soul, which has been through all ages, and all nations, a grand incitement to illustrious actions, and a compensation cheerfully accepted by the sufferer, for the dungeon, the scaffold, and the stake. O! had Russell, or Sidney, on mounting that scaffold, been assured upon authority of the most certain kind, that their names would, in a short time, be wholly erased from the memories of men, they would not have drawn back, but surely they would have shuddered to their very souls, at the thought of this dismal annihilation. "Algernon Sidney," writes the Duke of York, afterwards the bigoted tyrant James 2d, "was beheaded this day; died very resolutely, and like a true rebel and republican: it appears, that his public objects in these intrigues were a republic, and *the most unlimited toleration in religion.*" And we doubt not, that when he had got Sidney on the scaffold, this merciless man thought, in closing his letter, he had done with him. In this supposition, he was however most completely disappointed, for Sidney and Russell still live, and speak, enshrined and hallowed in the memory of man, to the latest generations! The "manes" of such illustrious heroes, hovering over the heads of their descendants, prolong the growing spirit

of liberty beyond death and the grave, and proclaim to their sons, and their sons, "*non omnes morimur.*"

But why, why is not the devotion due to such departed worth more regularly and systematically offered, in a manner such as may not only fix principles, but animate them through the whole practice of life? We will, no doubt, be deemed visionary in what we are about to offer, but what is life itself but a vision, and why should we not endeavour to colour a little the dull and fugitive scenery. We would propose an INSTITUTION, the primary object of which should be A STATED COMMEMORATION OF THE BENEFACTORS OF MANKIND; the *business* of which should be, the discussion and decision of their respective merits, and claims to this high station; and the *end* of which should be to inspire imitation by great example. An edifice seems to rise before us, small, compact, unambitious of exterior ornament, uniting simplicity and solidity in its Doric front, and over the entrance are deeply engraved these words, "SACRED TO MEMORY." Within is an oval apartment, or principal place of meeting, finished, in every part, without ostentatious expense, but with classic taste, and attic elegance. Two descriptions of members occupy this building: the one constantly, the other occasionally; the latter living, the former *have* lived, and *both* are here united, at stated times, to bless and to benefit each other. In the most elevated station, are ranged the busts or the best casts which can be procured of Socrates, Epaminondas, Solon, Aristides, Leonidas,* Homer,

* "Nothing was to be seen but ruins, rocks, and the sea, and no sound met the ear, save the cries of the kings-fisher, and the dashing of the surges against the

(as author of the *Odyssey*.) Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Brutus, Cato the younger, Demosthenes, Tacitus, Alexander. Below, appear in a similar position, either of bust or portrait, or, (where wanting,) in illuminated letters, Newton, Alfred, Milton, Locke, Shakespear, Columbus, Algernon Sidney, Raleigh, Luther, Fenelon, Linnæus, Penn, and Franklin. Above the chair of the President is reposed the best of books; and, in golden letters, is written **ETERNITY**: and at the opposite end of the room stands the model of a printing-press, with the words, **GREAT EMANCIPATOR OF MANKIND!**

The *spirit* of this Institution is supposed to exist in a monthly eulogy, written or spoken by each of the thirteen members, in turn, on one of the great and good men, thus, as we may say, beatified in the remembrance of mankind, or upon *any other* benefactor of the human race, whose merits may be proved, to the satisfaction of the company, *such* as will render them worthy of association. On the chief topic of the monthly meeting, the sentiments of the assembly to be given in a familiar conversational style, avoiding carefully the useless ceremonial of formal debate, and tedious haranguing, but to captivate intellect through the senses, and to gratify not only the taste, but, what is much more common, the *appetite* for good company. The business of the RETRO-

tomb of Themistocles, producing an incessant murmur in the abode of eternal silence. Washed away by the billows, the ashes of the conqueror of Xerxes reposed beneath them, commingled with the bones of the vanquished Persians. Determined, at last, to make echo speak in a spot where the human voice is no longer heard, I shouted with all my might, **LEONIDAS! LEONIDAS!** No voice repeated this great name, and Sparta herself seemed to have forgotten her hero!"—See Chateaubriand's *Travels*, when at the ruins of Sparta.

BELFAST MAG. NO. LV.

SPECT, (we call it so, for want of a better name,) is always to conclude with an excellent *supper*, crowned with toasts memorial of the characters thus deified on earth, and, in particular, of the individual most recently eulogized. "O Noctes, cænæque *Drum*." The *materiel* of this Institution to consist of two divisions, or classes of members, the one stationary, the other attending; the first the *memorables*, the second the *remembrancers*; the former, not limited in number, the latter restricted to thirteen; *both* orders admissible only by unanimous ballot; and that ballot to be repeated every third year, when a majority shall exclude.

Such is the outline of a proposal, which, as we have already been called Papists, will now, we suppose, change our appellation into a parcel of Pagans. Instead of canonizing Saints of ambiguous character in our calendar, we should wish to establish a Pantheon of Men, the divinities of this earth, and indeed this is the only monument, these are the only tomb-stones we should erect, and not encumber the world with the ostentatious and false epitaphs of insignificant individuals. "Far, then," says Humboldt, (and we cordially agree with him,) "far from the bed of death, from the graves of the departed, be every thing that is calculated to excite gloomy apprehensions in the survivors. Let us enjoy without excess, and consequently without remorse, the blessings which the earth affords, and when the organized dust which, for a few moments, is animated by the breath of life, shall be required of us, by that common mother of mankind, let it serve to fertilize her bosom, and, if possible, to embellish her surface."*

* The following lines are from Beaumont and Fletcher, who copy the manner

On the whole, we think, that the stated commemoration of illustrious characters, a natural consequence of public spirit previously existing, might prove an exciting cause of the same spirit where deficient or nearly extinct. A patriot is now deemed, by a large generality of that public, to be an out of the way character, who never can thrive in any *profession*, and who can hope to succeed only by making his principles a selfish *speculation*. Priestley was called an incendiary, by those who were burning his house, and regretting his escape. Gilbert Wakefield, and Horne Tooke, those ornaments of their country, and the *republic* of letters, (we hope there is no sedition in the term!) are cried down as a couple of malignants. Grattan (the

and sometimes catch even the spirit of Shakespear.

" Sweet Prince, the name of Death was never terrible
To him that knew to live—nor the loud torrent
Of all afflictions. Like early roses,
We bend to earth, and bear our native sweetness.
When we are little children,
And cry, and fret, for ev'ry toy comes 'cross us,
How sweetly do we show when sleep steals on us:
When we grow great, but our affection greater,
And struggle with the stubborn twin born with us.
Had we not then the privilege to sleep
Our everlasting sleep, he'd make us ideots.
The *Memory* and monuments of good men
Are more than lives, and though their tombs want tongues,
Yet have they eyes that daily sweat their losses;
And such a tear from stone no time can value.
'To die both young and good are bounteous blessings,
For then we reach at Heav'n in our full virtues,
And fix ourselves *new stars* crown'd with our goodness."

Irish Grattan, now a memory !) was always deemed eccentric in Parliament, and impracticable in the cabinet. Thus the first characters are distrusted when living, and when dead, traduced by the scepticism of a Hume, or the jealous nationality of a Dalrymple and a Macpherson. Ought a generous public to stand by, and look on such treatment with indifference and ingratitude? Ought it not rather to sanctify, by such rites as we have hinted at, the services of such men, and to embalm them in memory, and as far as *they* can, render them immortal?

But from airy, yet pleasant speculation, let us (as we must,) descend to the ground of melancholy matter of fact. While Nature, with her accustomed kindness to man, suspends war abroad, there is no such cessation in our intestine hostility. The restless and perennial passions of human nature feel not the change of seasons, nor the influence of Winter. On the Continent, exclusion from commerce is the "*cri de guerre*;" on the Island, the cry is, "*Exclusion from the Constitution*;" this is the great stimulant to domestic dissension, approaching to civil war. Continental *exclusion*, cries Bonaparte; Constitutional *exclusion*, is reverberated from the rocks of Albion, by the Right Reverends the Bishops of Lincoln, and Glos'ter, and Ely, and Salisbury, and the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, and the Archdeacons of Norfolk and *Norwich*, (except always its good Bishop, the Las Casas of the Protestant community,) and the Arch-deacon and clergy of Wilts, and the Arch-deacon and clergy of Berks, and the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, (not a chapter of the New Testament, but a Chapter of the English Church, composed of the majority out of seven individuals,) and the Dean and Chapter, and Arch-deacon, and

clergy of Exeter, and various other fat ecclesiastic corporations, and all the Proctors, and all the Doctors of collegiate corporations, and in addition to the mayors and aldermen, and assistants of this and that civil corporation, called boroughs, all of these *spiritual bodies*, as personally and professionally ignorant of the present state and condition of Ireland, as they are of the topography of Ceres, Pallas, or any of the other new-discovered planets.

At the distance they stand or sit, they view *this* island (which of late has excited so much more attention, than, as they think, it deserves,) through the telescope of history; and through the smoked glass of *partial* history, the sun of TRUTH appears to *wade* in blood. As they *turn* their glass, they people the Heavens with monsters; according to their prejudices or prepossessions, facts are distorted, and opinions are coloured. The curate saw through the telescope what he supposed to be two steeples near to each other, in the moon, which the young lady, on looking, said was much more like two lovers leaning their heads toward each other. Just so it is, that these ecclesiastical corporations, looking through the medium of history, or rather party exaggeration, behold nothing but the Pope in his infallibility, and his red-capt cardinals, and his legates, like Rinuncini, and the grand inquisitor, and Smithfield fires, and gunpowder plots, and Irish massacres. And thus, in fact, the recurrence to past times, *purposely made*, keeps both religion and reason, the sun and moon of the social system, under eclipse, not merely perplexing monarchs with the disastrous twilight, and with the *fear* of change, but bewildering the common sense of the most unprejudiced people, making a civil war in every breast between

the citizen and the religionist, and bringing back those terrible times when religious controversy, the most embittered of all controversies, was the paramount consideration of the civil society.

Terrible times! never, we hope, to return, when the influence of the clergy was *inversely* as that of christianity, and the selfishness and prejudices of the church led and lessened the state in the most important points of national policy, until the heads of our countrymen, treated like the feet of the Chinese women, were moulded according to an ecclesiastical modus, and so bound up and swathed, and brought into the smallest possible compass, to prevent all speculative wandering, all natural expansion of the intellect, and all improveability of the human creature. Is there not, in fact, great danger, that many of our fellow subjects in Great Britain may fall into the very identical resignation and superstitious obedience to the intolerant clergy of their own persuasion, which they themselves exclaim against as the essence of the Catholic religion, and which forms the pretext, the religious pretext for its political exclusion?

For our parts, not to speak at present of the unconstitutionality of this *clerical* interference in a great state question, we think that the good sense and forecast of the *lay* community, ought to put them upon their guard, lest they introduce the *Pope-dom* not of a single person, but of a subtle party, voracious at all times of temporal power, and slyly improving the present opportunity of leading men in civil matters, by means of the terrifying sanctions of religion. Thus, in ancient Rome, the hasty pace with which the Plebeians advanced to the Consulate, was obstructed by the pretext, that many of the sacerdotal functiona

being performed by the Consuls, that office could not, without profanation, be committed to any person of plebeian extraction; and thus the sacred laws of religion were, in that instance, and in numerous instances since that time, perverted into the worldly policy of a monopolizing party.*

The clergy of the establishment, from several causes which we shall not at present enlarge, have lost what they may think the due ascendancy and controul over the minds of the people. Now they most wil-

lingly seize upon the occasion of taking precedence, not in the politico-religious, but, as they will have it, the religio-political question, not on the policy, the expediency, the justice, the necessity, of adopting into the fullness of the Constitution our Catholic countrymen, but the pleasant and profitable debate upon the comparative merits or demerits of the two religious denominations. Here is their chosen ground. Here they expect the fruits of victory, and a full restoration of their decaying power. They rush from the hive.

*The clergy of the Church of England have long been divided into two classes, of high church and low church principles. The former constitute the majority. These have always had a leaning to the side of prerogative and arbitrary power. In the reign of James the Second, they could overlook his arbitrary principles, as far as the state was concerned. They only quarrelled with him because he gave the preference to another church, and were greatly divided between their dread of popery, as hostile to their interests, and their approbation of high prerogative principles. The arbitrary monarch was not disagreeable to them, and in his plans to destroy British liberty, they would have been willing to join, if he had secured their emoluments. During the reigns of the 1st and 2d George, they were generally distrusted on account of their leaning to arbitrary power, and to a certain degree even possessing a remaining fondness for the exiled family, as being of more congenial sentiments with themselves. In the latter reign, they lost power, when the Convocation was reduced from being an effective body. In the present reign, the fears arising from the danger of the old family being restored, had subsided, and it was no longer thought necessary to have recurrence to the principles of liberty, by which it was acknowledged, the house of Brunswick had been seated on the throne. Toryism and high church principles once more came into fashion, and from this bitter source may be traced the many evils of the last fifty years. The church is in danger! a cry which once had lost much of its force, has been often revived with temporary success during the present reign.

“Erumpunt portis; concurritur; æthere
in alto
Fit sonitus, magnum mixtæ glomerantur
in orbem.”

They sharpen their pens; “*exactumque spicula.*” They fulminate charges. They draw up petitions. They reassert in these, notwithstanding the most solemn and reiterated appeals to God to the contrary, that the Catholics maintain a practical belief in the infallibility of the Pope, in his power of excommunicating Sovereigns, in faith not being to be kept with heretics. And thus they promise themselves, not only will the Protestant ascendancy be secured, by their present noisy interference, but their *professional* and *personal* ascendancy re-instated, as champions of the religion of the people. Church and State (in the Latin idiom, “*Nos, et rex noster*”) will henceforth, they hope, proceed in the natural order, and the people will feel their present safety, and their ultimate security, in that alliance, and *that only*.

On the other hand, the Dissenting clergy in England, of three denominations, have resolved to petition for a total and unqualified repeal of all laws imposing civil penalties, or restraints upon political rights,

on account of religious opinions; and thus, by comprehending the Catholic question under the most general terms, the English Dissenters have made common cause with all their fellow subjects that suffer for conscience sake in every part of the empire. All the dearest rights of men, both civil and religious, are therefore involved and implicated in the final decision of this question, and different orders take advantage of the ambiguous nature of the subject, to profit by its *duplicity* in strengthening usurpations, and pushing forward pretensions. The reference is nominally made to the determination of Parliament, and Mr. Grattan is, accordingly, to move on the 29th instant, "for the appointment of a committee of the commons, to take into consideration the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, in both England and Ireland, pursuant to a resolution of the last session of the last Parliament." Yet not the less indefatigable have been the efforts, and under-hand industry, to gain what is called a *popular* pre-judgment, and by alarm, by the revival of buried prejudice, by all the accustomed machinery of sinister influence, set to work night and day, to poison the public ear, and thus, in effect, to vitiate the GRAND PANEL of the PEOPLE.* Public opinion, it is well

known, has begun to have its effect in Parliament, but the partial, and interested judgment of certain classes of the community, with all their parchment train under *clerical* and *military*, and (however they may disavow it,) under well understood ministerial influence, will be brought ostentatiously forward by the partizans of *political* intolerance as forming the good, true, and impartial verdict of the British Empire.

The new Concordat said to have been just signed by the Emperor Napoleon and the Pope, in the presence of the Cardinals and Prelates, which has terminated all the differences that had arisen with respect to the affairs of the church, this act speedily and unexpectedly determined upon, will doubtless be produced as an irrefragable document of the future subservience of the papal authority to French influence, and will even be attributed to the head, "well stor'd with subtle wiles," for the express purpose of breaking off any amicable settlement which would add so greatly to the real strength and true glory of the British Nation.

Never, we trust, will the British government be *oubid* in the means of securing the affections of the Catholics of Ireland. But the obser-

devoted to the interests of the intolerant party. It was afterwards quoted, and large extracts given from it in the Anti-Jacobin Review. We pointed out the gross imposition in our Retrospect of Politics for Dec. 1812, at page 490 of our last volume. In a discussion which took place in the House of Commons, it appeared, that the meeting of the inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesea, who petitioned against the Catholic claims, had been greatly misled by this spurious document, and that other places had acted under similar erroneous impressions, arising from a mistaken confidence in the genuineness of it. Whitbread justly characterized such petitions; "that their arguments were founded in falsehood, and their support was obtained by forgery."

* Never was a more profligate, impudent, or barefaced attempt made on the credulity of a people, than the forgery of the third part of the Statement of the penal laws; and let us recollect, this fraud was practiced by a party loud in their claims, as being the supporters of religion and social order. Alas! that such vile hypocrisy should be acted in the name of religion, and under the pretence of upholding one sect, and depressing another; the one claiming to be nearer the truth than the other. The "third part" was published at the office of the Dublin Journal, a press

vation forces itself upon us, that through the whole history of the war in every political plan, or projet of magnitude and of effect, we have been anticipated by the enemy, in the Peninsula, in Europe, or in America, notwithstanding Mr. Canning may whisper the capture of Copenhagen, and Lord Wellesley the capture of Seringapatam. Whether this early maturity of counsel, and celerity of execution, so constantly forerunning us, be owing to the more central situation of our enemy, to the concentration of powers deliberative and executive within the compass of a single head; or to the greater sagacity in foretelling events, and promptitude in the adaption of means to ends, we presume not to say; but certainly our plans military, and diplomatic, down to the repeal of the Orders of Council, have been most frequently too late. They have always *hung fire*, either from the procrastination and dissensions of a cabinet-executive, or from the attention of ministers being divided between official duties, and speaking in parliament, or from some of the German phlegm, which still adheres to the English Constitution. And thus perhaps the French Concordat may be employed, on both sides the English channel, as a means of delaying that best and most desirable Concordat of the ruling powers with the religious dissentients, the Concordat of the British Constitution in all its *rights*, with the whole people of these realms in all their *duties*.

The Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, and the nation in general, appear willing to refer the whole of this contentious subject to the final decision, and arbitration of Parliament. A part, and not a small part of the country has been, as it were, suborned to anticipate this decision, in a few instances open-

ly and above board, but most frequently in a clandestine and surreptitious manner; sometimes from their own unbiassed view of the subject, much oftener through influence and various seduction; sometimes in the character and exercising the undoubted right of freeholders and freemen, much oftener in the shape of chapters, and professions, and selfish sections of the public. These forestallers of the public privileges seldom like to look at general emancipation, or the abolition of all civil disabilities attaching to religious opinions, they seldom like to look such a question in the face. They love to stay in their strong holds, or like Bayes' army, to steal through the city in disguise, or through a county in Indian file of subscriptions, with silent pace and selfish purpose, with stealing foot and trembling hand, concealed in the bush, and shooting on the belly.

Notwithstanding the No-Popery cry which has been raised by interested bodies of men, and ministerial connivance, we are still inclined to think that the general sense of the Empire as far as it has been *expressed*, forms greatly more than a counter-balance to the Anti-Catholic party; and in the still larger portion where this sense remains *tacit*, proves a friendliness to emancipation, or at least a willingness of leaving it, in the last resort, to the wisdom, the justice, and the prudence of Parliament. Of the existence of these qualities we wish not to doubt or to dispute. We will not make any challenge to this great jury of appeal, because we have not the power if we had the inclination, and all that we would say, in regard to their well and truly trying this great question is, that they are all Protestants, and in great majority of the established church, with concomitant prepossessions and partial-

lities; and that if, under their influence, and, above all, under the present constitution of the representative body, they will, on the 25th or 26th instant, decide in favour of *adequate* emancipation to their Catholic fellow-subjects, we shall only say, that the House of Commons must be one of the most singular and unexampled assemblies that ever appeared upon the face of this turn-about globe.

That a House of this description will be led to this great healing measure, from motives of impartial justice, and a grand view of the rights of mankind, we are very slow to believe; but that motives of public *expediency* may be strong enough to impel them to their own interest, we will not dispute. Now, matter of right is permanent, and of all times: but matter of *expediency* is more or less pressing at this or that time; and the great doubt is, whether, in the judgment of that honourable House, existing circumstances have arrived at that crisis of urgency, such as may make it *necessary* to be just. We should think, it will not be imagined that such a moment is *yet* arrived. Mr. Pitt, who always humbled himself to existing circumstances, because he did not possess the genius which could itself *create* them, although in 1800 he *did* deem it *politic* to emancipate the Catholic, had he lived to the year 1813, might, according to his fluctuating rule, have seen cause to think this same emancipation inexpedient; and so probably will think his successors, pendulating, as he did, upon expediency mutable in its very nature, and dependant on chances of every kind, abroad, and at home. Let not, however, the Catholics ever abandon their claims, fixed as they are, upon the rock of right, which no time nor accident can shake or overthrow, to place them at the

mercy of every chance or change, on the sand of shifting expediency.

We should not be surprised, indeed, if some, of the present ministers, should speak on the Catholic question in a manner the most mild, moderate, and conciliating, voluble in good wishes, and glistening with kindness, and secretly rejoicing to throw off the *onus* of rejection on the sturdy country gentlemen. They will regret that this has not happened to turn out the exact time most favourable to Catholic claims; and, in short, they will repeat, with a very slight change, what was said in two "*billets doux*" during Lord Cornwallis's Lieutenantcy, and which we shall transcribe in a note, as memorable models of British blarney.*

* "The leading part of his Majesty's ministers finding innumerable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of conciliation to the Catholic body while in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under their inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages; and they have retired from his Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. (Mark now his same Mr. Pitt in a short time after resuming his station as minister.) The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hope must depend on strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time. They will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter, (that is Fox's party, or the reformers.) They may, with confidence, rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects; and the Catholics will feel that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, that he must,

Lord Castlereagh may send to the Catholics the self-same note which he penned as Secretary to Lord Cornwallis, and subscribe himself at all times (that is, *at a proper time*,) their most devoted humble servant. The coronation oath was at that time the ostensible obstruction : but there is a new brood of "existing circumstances" which, for the time being, present difficulties as insurmountable, and notwithstanding the ministry are in great part friendly, at least not inimical to the measure, they must wait, *until* the Arch-Bishops of the respective religions agree upon

at all times, repress with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body. Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most legal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct ; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures, which by any construction give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims ; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour, they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims upon proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously settled." So far Mr. Pitt—and now for Lord Cornwallis. "If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any idea of gaining their object by convulsive measures, by forming association with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the aid and support of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would, at the same time, feel it their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion. On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess, by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privilege being obtained, it is to be hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description."

a concordat, and *until* the country gentlemen grow somewhat better reconciled to the idea of sitting on the same bench with a Catholic.

We have indeed repeatedly expressed our astonishment that administration did not use every means that ministry *can* employ, to adopt the Catholic body ; and thus assimilate them to the system of things as they are, in order to oppose more effectually the increasing popular wish of making them as they ought to be. But as, from motives we cannot fathom, they find such incorporation inexpedient, perhaps impracticable, they take care to throw out a lure, that will prove, as it has proved, attractive to parts of a large body, united indivisibly in religion, but heterogeneous enough, heaven knows, in their politics. In short, the object is to hood-wink them by hopes, and to attribute the rejection of their claims to the sense of the nation appealed to in Parliament. If then the Catholics of Ireland, or any prevalent part of them, unite with ministry in the opinion, that the House of Commons, as *at present* constituted, is the express image of the people, and conveys the exact sense of the nation, let them submit to their fate, and sit down (we were about to say,) "infamous and contented." They may indeed, for form's sake, continue to give, from session to session, a double rap, or a single one, (the first for their peers, and the second for their people,) at the door of the minister who happens to be in place ; and perhaps at the same time give private notice of their periodical petition to the leaders of opposition ; but the minister and the party-leader will, with the kindest proffers, shake their heads, and say, We wish you well, dear Sirs, but ah !—the *House*—Gentlemen—the *House* !

But if the Catholic body be really

of opinion, and ready to act upon the opinion, that the House does not express the genuine sense of the nation, and that the pannel of public sentiment is now in their favour; if repeated experience has taught them that they may get through this and that barrier, but that they will always meet an insurmountable stop in an assembly thus constituted; if their spirit be sickened, and their flesh wearied with dunning for their just and reasonable demands, every minister of the day, who (as Charles Fox was said in his youth to have done to his creditors,) desires them to call to-morrow, and they shall then be told when to call *again*; if such be their feelings, and if such be their principles, (and sorry we are to make use of an uncertain *if*;) why let them unite heart and head, with the most liberal and impartial part of the public, in an active and combined advocacy for that REFORM IN THE REPRESENTATION, which will give its just sway to the will of the people, and which *alone* can place the Catholics of England and Ireland in such a situation as to compose a legitimate part of that general will, with the political power, which flows from it. CATHOLICS! would to God that this was the last time in which it was necessary to repeat this truth, tried by time, and authenticated by your disappointments, viz. that the political reformers of these lands were at first, and will be, at the last, your sincerest and only consistent friends. Here is the safe and sound bottom on which hope may throw out her anchor, without a fear of driving in the storm. "O, we see, you want to make us your instruments!" Yes, we do—and so do the ministry; but they would use you for their own purposes: as Nero raised his golden palace from the ruins of Rome; but we would use you as materials to repair the temple of the laws, and give

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a grander swell to the dome of the constitution.

Both in England and Ireland the Catholic question engrosses almost the entire political energies of the people for the present. The alarmists use every exertion to promote their views, and to work on the passions of the ignorant and the wavering. Tracts against popery, written for other times, and under very different aspects of things, when all sects mutually persecuted each other, if they had power, and when the principles of religious liberty were little understood, are now brought from their dusty resting places, and re-printed to promote the plans of delusion and irritation. Theological controversy is again introduced to support political intolerance, and the tales of the nursery, and the fears of popery, are set in motion to keep political power in the hands of the present possessors. Thus duped, many honest men are led away for a time, and instead of demanding PEACE and REFORM, are wasting the public strength in petitioning against the just claims of the Catholics. The present state of public spirit may be seen in the small number of petitions in favour of the former salutary objects, while interested men, with great facility, and much importunity, procure signatures to petitions against an act of justice too long delayed; of which, if the policy were doubtful, a confirmation of its propriety might be received from the fact, that most of the Lord Lieutenants, however prejudiced they might have been before coming to Ireland, or however shackled they may have been by an Irish faction, during their stay in this country, were at length fully persuaded of the propriety of the measure. Earl Hardwicke is a memorable example.

Yet some bright exceptions pro-

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sent. In Wiltshire, the sense of the county meeting defeated the exclusionary spirit; and the ministers of the three denominations of Dissenters in London, have renewed their petition for religious liberty, on the broad basis of removing all political restrictions from Catholics and Dissenters. This honourable example will probably have no effect in stimulating their Dissenting brethren in this country to follow so good an example, as no tendency to a similar movement has hitherto appeared among them, as a body.

The trial of Hugh Fitzpatrick, in Dublin, for printing a libel, said to be contained in a note in the second part of the Statement of the penal laws, a work of great merit, containing valuable information, and generally written in a style of great moderation, as well as of elegance of diction, still farther abridges the liberty of the press. If the note contained an unintentional misstatement, why not answer it, and set the public right? But a trial for libel does not allow the truth to be brought into question, and may fairly be called the coward's strong hold. Counsellor Scully, in a manly manner, rebutted the attack of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and offered to produce the author, and prove the truth of the allegations in the Statement, provided either that a discussion could take place before unprejudiced persons, or a mode of action be adopted, in which, consistently with the rules of the court, truth would be permitted to be set off against the supposed libel, and the facts be fairly substantiated in evidence. Without entering into the merits of the question, whether Barry suffered unjustly, a question which we acknowledge ourselves incompetent to decide, from a want of a thorough knowledge of the circumstances of the case, we could

name instances, in which the party, though perhaps not the religion of the delinquents, had a powerful tendency to screen from justice. If the dread of a prosecution for libel, like a sword suspended by a hair over our heads, were removed, and truth admitted to be pleaded in justification, we could name a notorious passer of forged notes, who had followed this trade through an extended system in the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Derry, and who, after conviction and sentence to 14 years transporation, escaped through favour, after being removed to Cork, to be sent to Botany Bay, until he was shortly afterwards taken in the County of Kildare, for a continuance in his former practices, and again put under fresh conviction. This man was an Orangeman, and had discovered his prowess in racking in the memorable year of 1798. Would he have met with similar protection, if he had belonged to a less favoured class? So far there appears grounds to believe, that in certain circumstances, Orangism may be a convenient cloak for knaves, and that the author of the Statement was borne out in his assertion, that party influences the even-handed justice, which ought to be distributed to all.

The Liberty of the Press, and the state of public spirit, must rise or fall together. Both are at present in a state of great depression. We however will not be discouraged. "No man's heirs or slaves," we shall undauntedly advocate the cause of our country's good! On the one hand are placed a numerous host, who, in one shape or another, partake of the public spoil, and are advocates of that corruption which supplies to them the eleemosynary bread, arising from the places, pensions, or sinecures, held by them or their families. On the other

hand, we proudly take our stand among those who enjoy the honest reward of their own industry, and in the language of Horne Tooke, "without stealing a single stake from the public hedge," support their families by their own exertions. Between these two classes there is an honourable and proud distinction. The people are called upon to discriminate between them, and then it will be seen, on which side the interested brawlers for things as they are, or the unbought defenders of reform, are to be found. Few are enrolled as great champions on the former side, who have not an evident self-interest to serve. The public have seldom the ability, and frequently not the generous inclination, to support their advocates, who seldom experience any other reward, than the consciousness of having deserved well of their country. This niggardly support granted by the people, has a most unfavourable effect, not only on the timid and the time-serving, but also on a numerous class of literary men, who, to procure a precarious support, are forced to humour the public taste, how much soever perverted, as they do not possess the independence of property, which strengthens the independence of mind. Thus an injurious effect takes place on our general literature, which is an index to point out the state of public spirit. Scott has long ranked himself in the class of political time-servers, and bartered, for temporary fame, the effusions of his muse, more splendid than solid, more calculated to please a sickly feeble taste, than to restore the originality of deep thinking. Of him, the lover of liberty never had cause to anticipate good; but it is an object of regret, to see S. T. Coleridge, once the enlightened poet of liberty, waste his powers in conforming to the perverted taste of

the public, and a man capable of producing, under proper encouragement, a work of a much higher order, writing for bread, "The Remorse," a tragedy, which, though it may discover genius, is, it is feared, genius misapplied. Under a different system of liberal encouragement, Southey also might have been expected to rise, if his genius, and an original strong mind, deeply imbued with the principles of liberty, had not been cramped by a want of congenial support. But so it is, when the liberty of the press is put down by the strong hand of power, literature in all its departments sympathizes with that part of it, more peculiarly devoted to politics, and if this branch is injured, the whole partakes of the injury done to the sacred tree.

Before this part of the subject is dismissed, let us notice the prevailing sycophancy of the day. The Earl of Moira, on being entertained at a farewell dinner, given by the Freemasons to him, previously to his going into exile, as Governor-General of India, to repair a shattered fortune, injured by his connection with certain swindlers of high rank, in return to some compliments paid to him, disclaims them personally, and thinking he must talk in the style of the East, whither he is going, uses the words of one of their apologues, in which the earth, which had received a scent from the rose attributes the merit altogether to the rose. So he gives the merit of all that entitled him to the praises lavished on him,—to his intimacy with Princes! Alas! poor Moira! instead of a sweet scent, there is a stench, and certain remembrances serve to show, that intimacy with men of high rank has often a tendency to injure the native honesty of an honourable, but highly cullible disposition.

It is a characteristic trait in the present canting times, when so many endeavours are used to put on the appearance of doing good, and when the exterior coat of religion is fashionable, but internal purity is generally disregarded, that the Marquis of Headfort, the friend of the Prince, and whose adultery Lord Ellenborough lately from the Bench took such pains to palliate in a trial for libel, has been appointed President of the Meath Branch of the Bible Society, to promote the distribution of a book, which, contrary to his practice, contains a precept against adultery. Three delegates, Mathias Thorpe, and Corbet, attended in behalf of the Hibernian Bible Society, and supported his nomination. Can any rational man expect good from such proceedings? Or can these men, in their mission to promote Bible Societies, persuade themselves they are doing good, by putting such men as the Marquis at the head of such associations. Our surprise may be lessened, however, when we consider that these evangelical men, as they wish to be considered, are so zealous in general, in support of things as they are, and lest they give offence to the powers that be, support the horrors of war, and all the evils of corruption in the state. It has been calculated, that war does infinitely more to spread misery, than all the societies for the suppression of vice, and distributing Bibles, can do good. Yet these men raise not their voices in favour of peace. Is not such conduct either inconsistent or hypocritical?

Under all this debasement of our own national character, how commonly do we hear of affected pity for the state of the press in France. Reserve the pity for ourselves! Our own press is far, very far, from being free! The truly consistent man reprobrates encroachments on the liberty of the press, and all other

plans of despotism, whether they are practiced at home or abroad, but he feels more poignantly the disgrace attendant on such violations, if they are inflicted in his native country. Prudence may teach a reserve in censuring, but execrations, "not loud, but deep," will be his internal sensations. A generous man, although he detests the despotism of Bonaparte, will feel restrained by honourable motives, from harshly expressing censure, when he dares not as openly tell his mind as to the state of his own country. Silence has often been thus imposed; but there may be a danger of such silence being misunderstood. Bonaparte's system is pure, unmixed despotism, and a desire to aggrandize himself and his family. To aid these purposes, he shackles the press, and we may perceive how impotent he feels more abuse to be, unless when it is founded on facts. The Editors of the English newspapers have been long in the habit of uttering the most gross, unmannerly, and undignified abuse of him, yet it appears he permitted these newspapers to enter France, and not until he wished to disguise facts from the people of France, did he prohibit their introduction. It is quite likely, that his defeat in the North has not been quite so great, as Russian bulletins,* and English venal

* The following Statement is extracted from Philips's Monthly Magazine, for Jan. 1813.

"The most calamitous campaign recorded in history terminated, by the march of the allied armies from Moscow into winter quarters, at Wilna, Kowno, Grodno, Koningsberg, &c.; and by the Emperor Napoleon setting out for Paris, on the 5th of December, after giving the command to the King of Naples during the winter. The bulletins record the chief facts: our reflections would fill a volume were we to indulge in them.

"The cost of a single campaign, in men and money, to try the question, Whether Russia shall keep her ports shut against

newspapers represented, yet still he lost much, and what friend of liberty could pity him? It was a war of aggression, and of unprincipled ambition, regardless of human happiness as far as related to the armies that unwisely followed him, as to those who were opposed to him. Much blood was spilled, and much misery was suffered, to gratify his insatiable desire of being a mighty conqueror. Many speak of the horrors of revolutions, but dreadful

English commerce, according to the treaty of Tilsit, may be estimated as follows :

TO FRANCE AND HER ALLIES.

In killed.....	30,000
—disabled.....	50,000
—prisoners.....	40,000

Allied men 100,000

Their equipments, at 30 <i>l.</i> each....	3,000,000
In artillery, magazines, &c.....	1,500,000
40,000 horses, at 35 <i>l.</i> each.....	1,400,000

Allied property lost £5,900,000

TO RUSSIA,

In soldiers killed.....	45,000
—disabled.....	45,000
—prisoners.....	40,000

Soldiers—Total 130,000

Of inhabitants at Moscow, and destroyed in different ways	} 70,000
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Russian people 200,000

Their equipments cost.....	3,600,000
Provisions, &c. of all the armies	18,000,000
Artillery, horses, and ammu- nition.....	} 2,500,000
100,000 houses burnt by the Russians, at 250 <i>l.</i> each.....	} 25,000,000
Their furniture, &c. at 200 <i>l.</i> each.....	} 20,000,000
Merchandise, crops, grana- ries, cattle, &c.....	} 24,000,000
Public works, churches, pa- laces, &c. by the French....	} 15,000,000

Russian Property lost, £108,100,000

In the succeeding number, Phillips in-
creases the Russian losses to 120 millions,
and doubles those of the French to 12 mil-
lions.

as they may be, we may here see as much loss of life and of happiness, to support his false glory, as, if other-
wise directed, would be sufficient to hurl him to his original insignificance, a situation for which his crimes render him most fit. These considera-
tions tend to reconcile to the terrors of revolutions, when the follies, the crimes, and the obstinacy of rulers inevitably produce them, and if in the present state of society, so little as yet reclaimed by the mild spirit of philosophy, from barbarism, destruc-
tive wars must for a time continue, the horrors incurred in keep-
ing up the systems of despotism, are as great, and at least as afflicting to humanity, as the exertions of an op-
pressed people to free themselves from the chains of a tyrant. Much has been said on the horrors of the French revolution, and the excesses committed in exertions to procure freedom, while the millions of lives sacrificed by those called regular gov-
ernments, in defence of their ill-used power, in the prosecution of the crusade against opinions, and the in-
creasing illumination of mankind, are either sophistically passed over, or very slightly estimated.

Whether Bonaparte succeed in the spring, or should be again defeated in his plans, is totally immaterial in considering the question of the justice of his present wars. Success cannot affix the stamp of virtue on his crimes; nor can the want of it, in the estimation of impartial justice, leave a stain which did not exist be-
fore. It is, however, one of the com-
mon errors of mankind, to judge of actions by the event of them. Far be it from us to be dragged at the wheels of a conqueror's chariot, into an unmerited approbation of his bril-
liant success, dazzled by his splen-
did, but destructive powers; or, on the other hand, to place him lower than his deserts; if the fickleness of fortune, or the instability of sublu-

many grandeur should again desert him in the fresh trial of his strength. Whether despotism be successful or unsuccessful, may we be always sufficiently honest to brand it in every shape with our disapprobation !

The system of his conscription, explained in a note at foot, must entitle him to the execration of the philanthropist.* Yet let us not be

“ * It would be difficult to arraign the conscription too severely, on the score either of impolicy or inhumanity. It takes place, as is well known, by drawing lots at the age of sixteen or seventeen ; and the unavoidable effect of such a plan is to keep the parents of the youth in complete uncertainty till that age. Bonaparte seems to be unconscious of the discouragement of industry and of education, which is inseparable from the state of doubt so long suspended over the heads of youth ; or of the severe loss to the public in hurrying indiscriminately into the field those who afford the promise of becoming its brightest ornaments in the arts of peace. In other armies, a large proportion may be said to consist of those who are unfit for the tranquil occupations of settled industry : in France, they are the flower of the nation. Heavy as the loss is, of those who fall in the field, it is inferior to the almost incalculable mischief produced by the neglect of education. It is true that the law promises that the conscript shall have liberty to return home after five years of military service ; but during the war, this promise is suspended ; and were it otherwise, it may well be asked, for what exertion in civil life can a young man be fitted after such a career ? Bonaparte has also studiously thrown difficulty in the way of procuring substitutes. Not only is the election wholly uncertain till the lots are drawn, but the prohibition to go out of the particular district in quest of substitutes makes the range of choice so narrow, that the premium has been on the rise every year, and at present commonly amounts to £200 sterling : a sum which in France is decidedly beyond the means of the majority of the middle class. Had the engagement of substitutes been open throughout the kingdom, as it is in this country, the current premium would seldom have exceeded £25 sterling ; but Bonaparte's no-

indiscriminate in censure : the repeated offers, which he has made for peace, during the present war, since 1803, as given in an important document, at page 147, from Phillips' Monthly Magazine, show a fair spot in his character ; and it is matter of regret, that want of wisdom in our councils at home frustrated the pacification so essentially necessary to the well-being of both the contending parties. His offers afford a sorrowful contrast, far from being honourable to our side, when compared with the timidity and duplicity with which they were met. Men of true courage are above finesse, and never are afraid to agree with

tion seems to be to make all his subjects soldiers, and to procure consequence to the lowest description of military service, by drawing into it the members of respectable families. It may be adduced, says Sir Francis D'Ivernois, as an affecting proof of his success in the attainment of that object, that the medical schools were emptied of their youth previously to the battle of Marengo ; and that the law-classes poured forth their students to be present, and to perish in the fatal field of Eylau. The decree (December, 1810,) for levying 40,000 boys, to be trained to the naval service, excited the most distressing complaints among the unhappy mothers of families ; who pronounced it to be still more cruel than the sanguinary edicts of *Robespierre*. As long as a hope of speedy peace remained, the evils of the conscription were borne in silence : but, since the Spanish war, the conduct of government has been the subject of the murmurs and execrations of both sexes. “ In the midst of these sorrows and alarms,” says the prefect of the department of Gers, “ the men are afraid to become husbands, or if married, to become fathers. A similar terror has seized the other sex.” It seems scarcely to be doubtful that it would be more politic, and perhaps not so cruel, to mark the objects of the conscription from their early years : since the parents would then know how to adapt their education to their intended profession.”

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their adversaries on fair terms. Cowards are suspicious, and in seeking pusillanimously to avoid danger, frequently plunge deeper into it. We recommend to our readers to peruse the document with close attention, as being replete with important information, on a point, in which our national happiness is deeply involved.

We rejoice to find the Spanish Cortes have at length decreed to abolish the Inquisition. Much is said of the distresses of the French in Russia. If accounts were given impartially, tales of great distress could also be told as attending the retreat of the British army from Burgos. Letters from officers, which are not published, but suppressed, to promote the general scheme of popular delusion, and to force the people to judge too favourably of their situation, to the last moment of the crisis, would afford statements, which might appal the stoutest heart, and demonstrate to the advocates of war, who have any sense or feeling left, the impolicy of continuing the present destructive system.

In the *Peninsula*, the war of course slackens, while Lord Wellington is endeavouring to unite the military authority of both nations in his own person, and while re-inforcements are arriving at Valencia, from Sicily, to operate as powerful diversions on the opening of the campaign. We cannot help remarking, that in his Majesty's service on the continent, Prussians and Austrians take rank as general officers, and thus Catholics abroad are trusted in the highest situations, and may be placed in the most responsible posts, as in Canada, while at home they are not suffered to rise to any military command.

Napoleon, a being who looks *before* and *after* more than most men in modern or even in ancient times, and beyond comparison more than minis-

ters, who, from day to day, precariously live upon existing circumstances, is busily occupied, during the necessary interval of war, in consolidating his government, in conciliating the Pope, in cementing the state with the church, in establishing a regency on the event of his death, to be vested in the Empress, with the assistance of the Council, and in anticipating, by early and wise provisions, possible cases, whereby the reigning dynasty may, as it were, spread broader and deeper roots into the habits of the people. Do the present reports which form the grand gossip of the day, tend to strengthen or to weaken the permanence of the dynasty which reigns in Britain? *Abroad*, the French Emperor appears satisfied in retaining certain strong points, such as Dantzic, (said to be garrisoned by 30,000 men,) Thorn, Marienburgh, and other fortresses near the Vistula, as centres of armies to be collected in the opening campaign. Prussia is abandoned by her King, to the military disposal of Bonaparte. Thus he maintains himself in an attitude to threaten or command, with security either for negotiation or for action; and as long as the English envoy, Lord Walpole, remains at Vienna, so long may a hope be encouraged of the Austrian *mediation*, for there is very small probability that Francis will completely secede from his son-in-law, and hazard a fourth coalition with Great Britain. "As soon as winter shall terminate," say the French, "the Russians will be checked and driven back the quicker in proportion as they have further advanced;" and considering the relative strength of the Russian forces with the nearly equal share of suffering they have experienced under the greatest privations, it is not improbable that their retreat will soon take place from the neighbourhood of the Vistula.

In *America* there is every appearance of continued hostility. Mr. Madison is chosen president by a minority of 128 against 89 for Clinton, a formidable minority, chiefly from the Northern and Eastern states of the UNION, which now comprehends 21 instead of 13 members, and swells the mind of man, as it should do the minds of statesmen, with the geometrical ratio of increasing population. Have British ministers any foresight of that population in fifty years hence, which they now appear so willing to dissociate entirely from the affections, the preferences, the prejudices, the kindred manners, and habits of countries, once so nearly and dearly related. The American land forces have been increased by 20,000 men, who are, however, only to enlist for one year! and their navy is to be increased in the number of frigates, and even by an addition of several ships of the line: a strange rhodomontade, as we think, against a British navy.*

* On the motion of ministers, both Houses of Parliament have approved of the war with America. Little appeared to interrupt the unanimity except some remarks of Lord Holland in the one, and of Samuel Whitbread in the other House. They form honourable exceptions to the general ardour of a people, who affect to be just in their own cause. But the Americans will view matters with other eyes: the accommodating prints of this country may boast of the effects to be expected, when the unanimity of Parliament shall be known in America. Heedless assertion! The Americans have already coped with the vaunted omnipotence of the British Parliament, and been successful; and never is it likely that the sword will be sheathed by them, until arrangements are made for securing neutral rights, and preventing the impressment of American seamen. Forty years ago, parliaments were unanimous, or nearly so, in their resolutions against America, how impotently time has shown. Many events of the present day recall to us that period of infatuation; we appear to be again treading the same round

With regard to our *domestic resources*, it is asserted on authority, that the revenue has fallen off 2,400,000 in the year, there being a deficiency in the last quarter of 600,000, and of one million in the annual taxes; so that instead of there being three millions surplus of the consolidated fund, that great reservoir appears to have sunk materially, out of which the public creditors are to be paid. The property tax on land keeps up, while that from the profits of trade has sunk in this great proportion. With respect to the means of counteracting these deficiencies, all we know and feel is, that the war, with all its immense expenditure, proceeds as before; and we hear of no indications lately even of economical reform, except two: the first, that Lord Castlereagh declared himself a staunch friend to economy, while he voted *against* Mr. Banks' bill against sinecures; and the second proof, still more solid, is presented to the public in an advertisement of fashion and economy combined, by a Mr. Mackie, in Liverpool, who, by way of introducing himself to high personages, informs them, that he has had the honour of teaching the *Queen* and the *Princesses* the art of making their own shoes! "*Hæ tibi erunt artes*," &c.

As to the *delicate investigation*, as it is (we hope not ironically,) called, a topic which is about to supersede all others, and to take place of Russia, and the Peninsula, and America, and Ireland, we have only one observation to make, that by one cabinet, (*the cabinet out of place*,) her Royal Highness did not receive the ample and complete acquittal stated in the letter; but by the ministers *now in place*, she was most fully acquitted. The ample and complete justification of the illustrious personage was their act. We should not, therefore, be surprised, if, in a

world governed much more by personal than public motives, the resumption of this affair in all its details, now said to be necessary, should lead to a dismissal of men at present in office, and a resumption of early political friendships. Whether the nation would be better for the change, is, with many, a question of difficulty, and with not a few, most easy to be answered.

We fear indeed that it is not on the agency of either Parliamentary party, the people need depend for a restitution of national rights, or that the Catholics can hope for their particular share in the constitution. The former are pretty well convinced of this truth, but the latter appear to doubt of it, and are flattered by ambitious individuals into a belief that they will, in some time, gain a majority in the House as *at present constituted*. NEVER. Is it possible that they hesitate about explicit declaration in favour of reform, for fear of repelling Mr. Canning, or such constant and consistent friends as Mr. Canning, whom the dice-box of events may to-morrow throw out—the prime minister of Great Britain. Do they keep themselves separate from the political reformers, because they think their own object more attainable? Their object, they will find to be unattainable; and it is only by receiving and giving strength; by identifying themselves with the people, and the cause of the people; by meeting with that people, not as marbles meet in a single point, but as men ought to do who are zealous for a common interest well understood, and freely expressed, it is only by means of a reform in Parliament that the Catholics of Ireland will ever attain their emancipation. They must enter through the great gate of the temple, and not endeavour to insinuate their way through the wicket of party.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Proprietors of the Belfast Magazine.

At the close of an excellent article in the Edinburgh Review of November, 1812, on the rights and duties of the people, I met with the following sentence. "Are examples wanting of such popular courses (adverting to the speeches made on meetings of the people,) taken by approved and regular statesmen? we will not refer to such men as Wilkes and Horne Tooke, though we believe if their principles had been as pure as their manners were refined, and their habits, both of thought and speech, classical, the most severe moralist and correct politician, must have been satisfied." This sentence contains, in its first clause, an invidious and depreciating comparison of such a man as *Horne Tooke* with Wilkes, ingeniously, but insiduously bringing them both to the same level; and in the latter part of the same sentence, as far as we can collect the meaning from a second reading, which we are often obliged to make, from a certain perplexity of style that adheres to these authors, the intention is to impugn the purity of political principle, alike and equally in both these characters. I know not on what grounds they can place these two men in the same class, except upon some such principles of classification as those upon which Linnaeus associated the man, the ape, and the bat. But the truth is, that the Scotch philosophers owe Horne Tooke a grudge, not only for a long life spent in a steady and consistent patriotism, "which" as he said himself, "neither friends nor foes; nor life nor death, nor thunder nor lightning made to yield or give way the breadth of a single hair," and which *perverse* purpose of his was certainly beyond their comprehension, who go in or go out with a party; but they also reluctantly raise their eyes to the eminence of Mr. Tooke's philosophical attainments, and strive to repel as they can (now he is in his grave,) his sarcastic criticisms on the circumspect liberality, and parsimonious literature of North-Britain. From what motive indeed, but of vindictive spleen, the Edinburgh Review could place the author of "*Epea Pteroenta*," and the adequate antagonist of Junius, at the side of the writer of the North-Briton, and

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